

Message Text

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PAGE 01 LONDON 13741 01 OF 03 171905Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----070683 171909Z /41

O 171854Z AUG 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7355
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 13741

EXDIS

FROM MOOSE AND PETTERSON

USUN FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US
SUBJECT: RHODESIA INITIATIVE: CALLAGHAN LETTERS TO
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND OBASANJO

OWEN HAS APPROVED THE TEXTS OF THE FOLLOWING LETTERS TO
KAUNDA, KHAMA, MACHEL, NETO, AND OBASANJO. WITH THE
PRIME MINISTER'S APPROVAL, THE LETTERS WILL BE SENT

TOMORROW. IF DEPT HAS TROUBLE WITH CONTENT PLEASE LET
US KNOW IMMEDIATELY.

BEGIN TEXT:

FOR GABORONE:

MR. DEAR SERETSE,

I WAS MUCH HEARTENED TO RECEIVE YOUR MESSAGE OF 8
AUGUST. IT IS VERY ENCOURAGING FOR ME TO KNOW OF YOUR
KEEN INTEREST IN THE ANGLO/AMERICAN INITIATIVE. I SHARE
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THE AIMS AND ANXIETIES YOU HAVE EXPRESSED. I KNOW WELL
THE BURDEN THAT THE CONFLICT PLACES ON YOUR COUNTRY. IT
IS DESPERATELY IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD PRESS AHEAD.

FOR LAGOS:

DEAR GENERAL OBASANJO,

IN THE MESSAGE I SENT YOU EARLIER THIS MONTH I

SAID THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD BE GIVING JULIUS NYERERE AN OUTLINE OF OUR LATEST THINKING ON RHODESIA AND SUGGESTING THAT HE MIGHT WISH TO ARRANGE A MEETING, ON OR AROUND 19 AUGUST, OF HIS FELLOW FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IN ORDER TO ENABLE DAVID OWEN AND ANDY YOUNG TO EXPLAIN OUR IDEAS ON A SETTLEMENT. IT NOW LOOKS AS THOUGH IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR THIS MEETING TO TAKE PLACE UNTIL AFTER THE LAGOS CONFERENCE AND THEREFORE THAT IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE FOR DAVID OWEN TO COME TO LAGOS ON 21 OR 22 AUGUST TO EXPLAIN OUR IDEAS TO YOU. (FRANK JUDD WILL BE HEADING OUR DELEGATION.) AS SOON, HOWEVER, AS A MEETING WITH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAS BEEN ARRANGED, WE SHALL GET IN TOUCH WITH YOU ABOUT A FRESH DATE FOR THE VISIT TO LAGOS.

FOR LUSAKA:

MY DEAR KENNETH,

FOR MAPUTO AND ANGOLA:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT

I SENT YOU A MESSAGE EARLIER THIS MONTH SAYING THAT PRESIDENT CARTER WOULD BE SUGGESTING TO JULIUS (FOR MACHEL AND NETO ADD: NYERERE) THAT HE MIGHT ARRANGE A MEETING OF ALL THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENABLING DAVID OWEN AND ANDY YOUNG TO EXPLAIN TO YOU IN DETAIL OUR PROPOSALS FOR A FAIR AND EQUITABLE SETTLEMENT IN RHODESIA.

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FOR ALL EXCEPT LAGOS:

IN DISCUSSIONS IN WASHINGTON AND LONDON, IN WASHINGTON WITH PRESIDENT CARTER AND CYRUS VANCE AND HERE WITH THE LATTER AND DAVID OWEN, JULIUS (NYERERE) READILY AGREED TO CONSIDER THE SUGGESTION THAT HE MIGHT INVITE YOU TO ATTEND A MEETING FOR THE PURPOSE DESCRIBED ABOVE. THERE WAS MUCH IN OUR PROPOSALS THAT HE REGARDED AS UNEXCEPTIONABLE BUT HE MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WOULD

ELCOME A MORE PRECISE INDICATION OF WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND REGARDING THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SECURITY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD BEFORE GOING FIRM ON A DATE. FOLLOWING FURTHER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, WE ARE NOW IN A POSITION TO PUT FORWARD SOME DETAILED IDEAS ON THIS ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM AND I HOPE THEREFORE THAT THE MEETING CAN TAKE PLACE SOON. WE ARE STILL HOPING TO ARRANGE SOMETHING FOR THIS WEEK, BUT IF THAT PROVES IMPOSSIBLE WE SHOULD AIM, I THINK, FOR IT TO TAKE PLACE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER THE LAGOS CONFERENCE IS OVER.

FOR ALL:

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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MEANWHILE, I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF I WERE TO LET YOU KNOW, FOR YOUR OWN PERSONAL INFORMATION, THE BROAD OUTLINE OF OUR THINKING. OUR PROPOSALS COVER THREE MAIN AREAS: THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION, THE TRANSITION ARRANGEMENTS AND AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPPORTED PROGRAMME OF DEVELOPMENT AID FOR ZIMBABWE (WHAT WE PROPOSE TO CALL THE "ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND"). THESE 3 ELEMENTS ARE INTER-DEPENDENT: THEY STAND OR FALL TOGETHER AND MUST BE JUDGED AS A WHOLE.

AS WE SEE IT, THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION SHOULD PROVIDE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT, WITH ELECTIONS FIRMLY BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE. WE BELIEVE ALSO THAT THERE SHOULD BE A JUSTIFIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS AND AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY. I AM GLAD TO SAY THAT THESE PROPOSALS HAVE WON GENERAL ACCEPTANCE OF ALL THE NATIONALIST LEADERS, INCLUDING MR. NKOMO AND MR. MUGABE. IT WILL COME AS NO SURPRISE TO YOU TO LEARN THAT THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE IS STILL A DIFFICULTY FOR MR. SMITH, THOUGH WE BE-

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LIEVE HE CAN BE PERSUADED TO ACCEPT IT. IN ANY EVENT,
FOR US THIS IS NOT A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION.

THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE TRANSITION PERIOD HAVE
PROVED MORE DIFFICULT. THERE IS A REAL PROBLEM ABOUT
WHO SHOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF LAW AND
ORDER. IT IS OUR INTENTION TO APPOINT A BRITISH RESI-
DENT COMMISSIONER TO TAKE CHARGE OF THE ADMINISTRATION
IN RHODESIA DURING THIS PERIOD. IT WILL ALSO BE HIS
TASK TO ORGANIZE THE PRE-INDEPENDENCE ELECTIONS. WE BE-
LIEVE THAT ALL THIS COULD BE DONE QUITE QUICKLY, IN SIX
MONTHS AT THE OUTSIDE. OUR COMMISSIONER WOULD, WE HOPE,
BE ASSISTED BY A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED
NATIONS SECRETARY GENERAL; AND WE SHALL BE SEEKING AGREE-
MENT TO A UNITED NATIONS MILITARY FORCE. THE PRECISE
NATURE AND ROLE OF THE UNITED NATIONS PRESENCE WOULD
HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT AND AGREED IN ADVANCE BETWEEN THE
PARTIES CONCERNED AND THE UNITED NATIONS SECRETARY GEN-
ERAL, AND WILL, OF COURSE, BE SUBJECT TO APPROVAL IN THE
SECURITY COUNCIL.

DR. WALDHEIM IS BEING INFORMED THAT IT IS OUR IN-
TENTION TO INVITE HIM, SUBJECT TO THE AGREEMENT OF THE
SECURITY COUNCIL, TO APPOINT A REPRESENTATIVE (NOT NECES-
SARILY THE FUTURE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE DURING THE
TRANSITION PERIOD) TO CONSULT WITH OUR RESIDENT COMMIS-
SIONER-DESIGNATE AND THE PARTIES CONCERNED, WITH A VIEW
TO ESTABLISHING IN DETAIL THE RESPECTIVE ROLES OF ALL
THE FORCES IN RHODESIA. WE AGREE WITH THE NATIONALISTS
THAT IT WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO LEAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY
FOR ENSURING LAW AND ORDER IN THE HANDS OF THE EXISTING
RHODESIAN FORCES, EVEN UNDER NEW COMMAND. EQUALLY, HOW-
EVER, WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO EN-
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TRUST THIS TASK TO THE LIBERATION ARMIES. WE MUST FIND
A MIDDLE PATH, AND IT IS HERE THAT THE UN FORCE WILL
PLAY AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN SUPPORTING THE POLICE
IN MAINTAINING ORDER.

WE RECOGNIZE THAT FOLLOWING INDEPENDENCE THE NEW
ARMY OF ZIMBABWE SHOULD BE ONE OF ZIMBABWE'S OWN CHOOS-
ING AND RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE AND OF THE
DULY ELECTED GOVERNMENT. IT IS CLEAR THAT SUCH AN ARMY
WOULD BE PREDOMINANTLY BASED ON THE FORCES OF THE PATRI-
OTIC FRONT.

FINALLY, AS REGARDS THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT IT WOULD BE PURELY DEVELOPMENTAL IN CHARACTER. THERE IS NO QUESTION OF BUYING OUT THE EUROPEANS OR OF COMPENSATING THE REBELS FOR THE FAILURE OF THEIR REBELLION. ITS PURPOSE WILL BE TO PROVIDE FUNDS FOR THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND DEVELOPMENT OF AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE THROUGH ASSISTANCE TO VARIOUS SECTORS AND PROGRAMMED SUCH AS RURAL DEVELOPMENT, EDUCATION, HEALTH, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INFRASTRUCTURE, AND RESETTLEMENT AND TRAINING SCHEMES FOR AFRICANS, INCLUDING THOSE AFFECTED BY THE PRESENT CONFLICT. WE SEE THE FUND AS UNDERPINNING THE SETTLEMENT GENERALLY: THE AMERICANS AND OURSELVES ARE AGREED THAT ITS ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTINUED OPERATION SHOULD BE PREDICATED UPON THE ACCEPTANCE AND OBSERVANCE OF THE TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AS A WHOLE. MOREOVER, AS A BY-PRODUCT, THE ELEMENT OF PROGRAMME AID ENVISAGED SHOULD FREE FOREIGN EXCHANGE RE-

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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SOURCES TO ENABLE THAT INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT TO MEET ITS OBLIGATIONS ARISING OUT OF THE SETTLEMENT SUCH AS THE TRANSFER ABROAD OF CERTAIN CATEGORIES OF PENSION AND COMPENSATION PAYMENTS. INITIAL CONSULTATIONS HAVE TAKEN PLACE WITH THE WORLD BANK WHO WILL, WE HOPE, BE PREPARED TO MANAGE THE FUND ON AN AGENCY BASIS.

SOME ADVANCE INDICATION OF OUR THINKING HAS AL-

READY BEEN GIVEN TO NKOMO AND TO MUZOREWA. THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAVE ALSO BEEN INFORMED IN GENERAL TERMS OF WHAT WE HAVE IN MIND. THEIR FOREIGN MINISTER HAS BEEN TO LONDON FOR TALKS WITH DAVID OWEN AND CYRUS VANCE. HE COULD NOT, OF COURSE, GIVE US THEIR DEFINITIVE REACTION. BUT WE HOPE THEY WILL BE READY TO DO SO BY THE TIME DAVID OWEN AND ANDY YOUNG VISIT AFRICA.

I FIRMLY BELIEVE THAT THE TERMS WE SHALL BE PUTTING FORWARD FOR A SETTLEMENT ARE FAIR AND EQUITABLE AND THAT, ALTHOUGH THEY WILL NOT COMMAND ASSENT FROM ALL THE PARTIES IN EVERY RESPECT, THEY REPRESENT, TAKEN AS A WHOLE, A VIABLE AND JUST SOLUTION TO THE RHODESIAN PRO-
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BLEM WHICH HAS PLAGUED US ALL FOR SO LONG AND WHICH HAS PROVED AND IS PROVING SO TRAGIC FOR THE PEOPLE OF THAT LAND. I HOPE THAT, WHEN DAVID OWEN AND ANDY YOUNG HAVE HAD AN OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THEM TO YOU IN DETAIL, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO GIVE THEM YOUR ACTIVE SUPPORT. YOURS, ETC.

STREATOR

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Message Attributes

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TAGS: PDEV, RH, UK, US, XA, (GALLAGHAN, JAMES)
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